6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

Church tended to lead an inactive life of asceticism aimed at personal salvation.[1]

However, from the seventeenth century on, Russia's expansion, which was earlier oriented mainly toward the East, turned westward. The wars with the West which heretofore were mainly defensive, tended to acquire an increasingly offensive character. But the wars with the advanced Western countries were more difficult and much more costly than those with the economically and technologically backward Asiatics. The defeats which Russia suffered at the hands of the Swedes and Poles made it imperative for the Czars to increase the military effectiveness of their country to meet the challenge. This need dictated changes in the internal structure of the Czardom, in the direction of administrative and industrial advance along European patterns. Even before Peter the Great, measures had been taken in this direction. But it was Peter who dramatized the issue by himself going abroad as an apprentice in Western industries to become "the first carpenter of the Empire."

In accordance with such need the old system of administration based on service nobility was replaced by a system of salaried officials (*chinovnichestvo*). According to this *chin* (civil rank) system which was introduced by Peter the Great and which followed the Western pattern it was no longer necessary to belong to the dvorianstvo class in order to obtain state service. On the contrary, any one who served faithfully and efficiently could rise in chin and rank and thus obtain the status of a hereditary or of a personal *dvoryanin*, without even owning land. In this way a new salaried military and bureaucratic caste, entirely dependent upon the Czar, was growing at the expense of the landed dvorianstvo. As a result, the dvoryanin-guardsman, the chief state functionary of the eighteenth century, was replaced by the *chinovnik*-commoner in the nineteenth century. Chinovnichestvo absorbed and replaced dvorianstvo—just as earlier the dvorianstvo had absorbed and replaced boyarstvo. Now bureaucracy instead of military nobility became the main instrument of governing.[2]

This change in the structure of the Czardom, however, was accomplished from above, that is, by means of imperial decrees,

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFl Great Russia RFl

668 In a similar manner revolt was brewing in the bureaucracy
647 and the armed forces. In a system which was founded on the
701 principles of absolute dominance, subservience and uncondi-
554 tional submission, it is to be expected that the civil service employees as well as many officers would be often exposed to caprice, arbitrariness and wrong doings on the part of their superiors. These, too, were left without possibility of redress as were the clergymen. Strong sense of rank and social distance were as marked in these strata as among the clergy.

871 The lay schools[1] were not much different in strictness and dis-
565 cipline from the priests' seminaries, and students in these schools were often as ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-housed, and as exposed to the rod and other degrading treatment. The student's parents, who were often impoverished gentry, petty chinovniks, or small traders with meager incomes and big families, were not always able to support their children throughout long years of school-
● [555] ing. At the same time in an economically and technologically undeveloped society with strong traditions of service nobility, there was nothing that young people from such families could do but to enroll at a university or a military academy in order to obtain government office, or to engage in free learned professions. In Russian society of those days these were the only possibilities of obtaining positions of some prestige. Many of these students from impoverished strata had therefore to depend upon public or private munificence to finish their studies. Some of them became police informers to secure a meager income and to finish schooling. Many had to drop out of school because of lack of financial resources.

871 All Russian schools, therefore, on the middle as well as on the
668 university level, became centers of revolt against an order which exposed them to humiliating treatment, but did not offer them opportunities in accordance with the established traditions of higher classes. Hence the higher the school, the more it was imbued with the revolutionary spirit. And the words "student" and "revolutionary" became synonymous.

517 When new laws were introduced and these ambitious and
647 rebellious young men and women finally entered state service
641 they found that in addition to being ill-treated and ill-paid, a

[1] [i.e. in the second half of the XIX th century -- Analyst]

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

large part of them were disfranchised as well, because in municipal self-government and in district and provincial assemblies even persons holding university degrees, if they did not own a sufficient amount of property, were devoid of the right of suffrage.[4] And it was this underprivileged group of declassee nobility, of priests' sons, of former clerics, of sons and daughters of lower government employees, of unemployed professionals, of students and of former students who never had a chance to finish their studies, that became known as the *raznochintsy*.

The raznochintsy intelligentsia tended to lead a bohemian life and to engage in literary activities and journalism. But these vocations were greatly limited because of strict censorship laws. When the bar was established some raznochintsy practiced law as barristers, though they were very restricted in their activities because of traditional extra legal practices of the police. When under local self-administration (*Zemstvo*), a health, educational, and economic program for the improvement of rural areas was developed, a number of raznochintsy were employed by the Zemstvo as physicians, veterinarians, agronomists, teachers and bookkeepers. At the same time, their traditions and training, and especially their ambitions and expectations had conditioned the raznochintsy for intellectual pursuits and political leadership, not for routine administrative work or for business promotion and enterprise.

In such a situation the deeply rooted feeling of rejection which had been developed on the family level was greatly magnified.[5] Accordingly, self-centeredness, power-seeking, lack of trust, destructive aggression, as well as identification with suffering which were developed on the family level were heightened in these circumstances and found expression in ideologies which manifested extreme hostility and an urge for universal destruction. Many of these young rebels, for instance, denied all existing social institutions, conventions and restrictions, and demanded their total obliteration.

This ideology of extreme negation and destruction ("Nihilism") manifested, perhaps, the feelings of utter despair of the ambitious and self-seeking raznochintsy who felt impotent before the God-like power of the Czar and his omnipotent police.

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

corresponding Party structure on the lower levels of the Party hierarchy where Party Secretariats hold the reins of power. In this system of political and social control it is the Party Secretariats on local, regional and republic levels that are of pivotal importance.[2] Through his control of the Central Party Secretariat, the supreme Party leader is enabled to select the most useful and the most trusted people for such offices.[3]

The top Party leadership is therefore in a position to direct the recruitment of Party membership. It is empowered to accept and to expel members. It directs the secretariats on the lower levels of Party hierarchy as to whom the Party shall "elect" as its officers and as its deputies to the higher Party bodies, or whom to delegate to the local or national Soviets, and other representative Party or non-Party institutions. It consults with the secretariats about the appointment of trusted Party members to responsible regional and republic government and managerial positions, and it checks on fulfillment of Party directives. This checking is done through the Committee of Party Control whose representatives function independently of local Party bodies.[4]

Stalin was well aware of the significance of the selection of leading Party personnel from the point of view of perpetuation of power when he said "Cadres decide everything." It was by his control of the top Party Secretariat that he himself was enabled to eliminate all his opponents in the hierarchy and to rise to undisputed and absolute leadership.

Since it is local, regional and republic Party secretaries who form the axis of this monolithic Party-state machine, the position of such potentates yields great power, and high material rewards. Such offices are therefore sought after by people of great ambition and lust for power, also by people of fighting, conspiratorial and domineering inclinations. Thus it is the zealous, the shrewd, the calculating and the career-minded people who are also efficient and hard-driving that tend to be picked out for these positions because it is such people on whom the Party can rely for a blind and unquestioning execution of all orders. The Party which has remained essentially a conspiratorial organization demands militancy and aggressiveness, a severe and exacting attitude toward subordinates, irreconcilability and lack of com-

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

665
555
157

passion towards deviants and slackers, lack of intimacy among associates, complete dedication, and humbleness concerning one's own achievements.

Since the Party membership must assist the Party secretaries in the execution of Party policies, it is from among the same types of people that a significant part of the Party membership tends to be recruited. Such people form the hard core of the Party cells and the *aktivs* of Party and government institutions. They are likely to be distant and stern, critical and demanding; they watch over and feel responsible for the behaviour of others, but show no personal consideration or concern.[5]

Another part of Party membership is recruited from among the people who are not zealous, nor over-ambitious nor blindly submissive, but are especially useful to the Party because of their occupational or professional skills. Such people are likely to be competent, as well as humane, considerate, close to their subordinates and understanding in their relations with non-Party men. These people tend to alleviate the harshness of Soviet oppressive bureaucracy and perform therefore a function which is analogous to the role of the mother in the patriarchal Russian family.

It is however the hard core of zealots and careerists who are on the ascendancy and who direct Party work and control government administration and economic management with the help of the aktivs, that is, groups of selected and trusted persons formed within every organization to assist its leadership according to the Party directives. Aktiv is a cardinal agency of Party control. It is an institution of vigilance, supervision and intelligence, as well as an instrument of guidance and planned political manipulation. In the Party itself the role of the aktivs is of fundamental importance:

> Meetings of Party *aktiv* members play an outstanding role in the life of the Party organizations. It is at these meetings that the decisions of the Party and government as well as major problems in the life and work of the Party are discussed. The meetings of Party activists are a means of expression of Party public opinion; they are a forum for Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism.[6]